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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 BOGOTA 001703

SIPDIS

SECSTATE PASS TO WHA: DAS PETER DESHAZO, INL: DAS DEBORAH MCCARTHY, DOJ:DA ATTORNEY GENERAL MARY LEE WARREN, DOD:DASD WHA ROGER PARDO-MAURER, SOUTHCOM:SOUTHCOM CDR GEN HILL, ONDCP:DIRECTOR JOHN WALTERS
AID/LAC: PASS TO DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR KAREN HARBERT

AIDAC

E.O. 12958: N/A

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SUBJECT: PLAN COLOMBIA PHASE II

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED - PROTECT ACCORDINGLY

1. (SBU) SUMMARY: THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE. THE GOC HAS PRESENTED EMBASSY WITH A FINAL DRAFT OF ITS PLAN COLOMBIA PHASE II, 2006-10, DOCUMENT, WHICH HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY PRESIDENT URIBE AND HIS CABINET. GOC AND EMBASSY SOLICIT WASHINGTON AGENCY POLICY REVIEW AND COMMENT ON THE DOCUMENT. PLEASE HOLD CLOSE AND LIMIT DISTRIBUTION TO ADDRESSEES.

2. (SBU) OVER THE PAST THREE MONTHS, THE GOC ORGANIZED SEVERAL INTER-MINISTERIAL WORKING GROUPS TO DEVELOP ADJUSTMENTS TO PLAN COLOMBIA TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF SOLID PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN ITS IMPLEMENTATION THUS FAR. PLAN COLOMBIA PHASE II, AS IT IS CALLED, PROPOSES A DOLS. 7.2 BILLION EFFORT OVER THE 2006-10 PERIOD, CONSISTING OF FOUR PILLARS: i. FIGHTING TERRORISM, NARCO-TRAFFICKING, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME; ii. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REACTIVATION; iii. INSTITUTIONAL AND JUSTICE SYSTEM STRENGTHENING; AND iv. PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, DEMOBILIZATION, AND REINTEGRATION OF ILLEGAL ARMED GROUPS.

3. (SBU) GIVEN THAT FY 05 IS THE FINAL YEAR OF ORIGINAL PLAN COLOMBIA FUNDING, IT IS CRUCIAL THAT WASHINGTON AGENCY REVIEW OF THIS PLAN COLOMBIA PHASE II DOCUMENT BE GIVEN PRIORITY ATTENTION. WHILE IMPRESSIVE PROGRESS IS BEING MADE ON ALL FRONTS, THE JOB IS NOT COMPLETE. TO BRING PLAN COLOMBIA TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION, CONTINUED EFFORT AND FUNDING IS NECESSARY. AS THE CENTERPIECE OF THE ANDEAN REGIONAL INITIATIVE, THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS IN COLOMBIA WILL HAVE A PROFOUND IMPACT ON PEACE AND SECURITY THROUGHOUT THE ANDES. REQUEST THAT ADDRESSEES PROVIDE SPECIFIC COMMENTS ON THE DOCUMENT TO POST WITHIN THREE WEEKS, OR NLT MARCH 8, 2004. END SUMMARY.

GOC PRESENTS DRAFT PLAN COLOMBIA PHASE II DOCUMENT

4. (SBU) ON FEBRUARY 6, DURING HER MEETING WITH VISITING DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY PETER DESHAZO, FOREIGN MINISTER BARCO DELIVERED THE GOC'S FINAL DRAFT PLAN COLOMBIA PHASE II DOCUMENT, WHICH REFLECTED REVIEW/APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT URIBE'S FULL CABINET. THIS DOCUMENT WAS THE RESULT OF THREE MONTHS' EFFORT BY SEVEN INTER-MINISTERIAL WORKING GROUPS, COORDINATED BY VICE MINISTER OF DEFENSE ANDRES SOTO AND PLAN COLOMBIA PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR LUIS ALFONSO HOYOS.

5. (SBU) EMBASSY FEEDBACK AND INPUT ON EARLIER DRAFTS OF THE PHASE II DOCUMENT ARE REFLECTED IN THIS FINAL DRAFT, BUT IT IS CLEARLY A GOC DRAFT. ELECTRONIC VERSION OF THE DOCUMENT HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO WHA/AND.

PLAN COLOMBIA: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

6. (SBU) THE GOC STRATEGY BEHIND PLAN COLOMBIA IS VERY SIMPLE: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, SECURITY, AND PEACE ARE DIRECTLY LINKED. THE PLAN ARGUES THAT STRENGTHENING THE CAPACITY OF THE STATE, ESPECIALLY THE MILITARY CAPABILITY, IS KEY TO THE SUCCESS OF ANY NATIONAL PLAN. THE WEAKNESS OF THE STATE IS AT THE HEART OF COLOMBIA'S ILLS. THE MAIN REASON FOR POLITICAL KILLINGS (SOME 3,500 PER YEAR FOR THE LAST 10 YEARS), KIDNAPPINGS, DISPLACEMENT OF OVER 3 MILLION PEOPLE SINCE 1985, AND ECONOMIC DESTRUCTION IS THE INTERRELATED NATURE OF THE COMBINED THREATS OF NARCOTICS AND TERRORISM AND THE INABILITY OF THE STATE TO ACT, BECAUSE OF A COMBINATION OF LACK OF RESOURCES, LACK OF POLITICAL FORCE AND THE DEBILITATING IMPACT OF A WEAK JUSTICE SYSTEM.

7. (SBU) PLAN COLOMBIA IS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT ELIMINATING THE MONEY GENERATED BY DRUGS REDUCES THE WAR-MAKING CAPACITY OF ALL THREE ILLEGAL ARMED TERRORIST GROUPS, THEREBY REDUCING THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE AND ENHANCING THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE. ADDITIONALLY, IT WAS ANTICIPATED THAT AS THESE ARMED THREATS TO THE STATE AND SOCIETY WERE ELIMINATED, THE FORCES OF PUBLIC ORDER (POLICE AND MILITARY) WOULD BE ABLE TO REGAIN EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF THE ENTIRE NATIONAL TERRITORY, MAKING IT EASIER TO ERADICATE ILLEGAL

NARCOTICS. RESTORING SECURITY THROUGHOUT COLOMBIA WOULD ALLOW THE RULE OF LAW TO BE STRENGTHENED NATIONALLY AND LAY THE BASIS FOR INVESTMENT TO INCREASE INCOMES.

18. (SBU) PLAN COLOMBIA WAS AND IS AS MUCH AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRATEGY TO ENHANCE THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT ALONG WITH A MORE FUNCTIONAL DEMOCRACY. THE MILITARY COMPONENT WAS ONLY ONE OF THE PLAN'S 10 ELEMENTS DESIGNED TO REINFORCE DEMOCRACY, FREE FROM VIOLENCE AND CORRUPTION. PLAN COLOMBIA WAS ALSO INTENDED TO PROMOTE A MORE EQUITABLE GEOGRAPHICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE BENEFITS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR THE COLOMBIAN PEOPLE.

19. (SBU) THE IMPETUS FOR PLAN COLOMBIA EVENTUALLY LED TO THE URIBE ADMINISTRATION'S ARTICULATION OF A COLOMBIAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY, QUOTE DEMOCRATIC SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY UNQUOTE, PUBLISHED IN THE FALL OF 2002. THIS STRATEGY PROVIDES THE INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATION FOR LINKING THE NATIONAL MILITARY STRATEGY AND THE SUPPORTING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS NECESSARY TO BRING GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY TO THE PEOPLE. THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS DEMOCRATIC SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY ARE TO: GUARANTEE THE SECURITY, FREEDOM, AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION; CONSOLIDATE STATE CONTROL OVER NATIONAL TERRITORY; ELIMINATE DRUG TRAFFICKING; DEFEND DEMOCRATIC ORDER AND THE RULE OF LAW; PROMOTE ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND SOCIAL EQUITY; AND RECONSTRUCT THE SOCIAL FABRIC. THE URIBE ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE PROGRESS ON EACH OF THESE OBJECTIVES.

PHASE II EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

10. (SBU) AFTER THREE YEARS, PLAN COLOMBIA IS HELPING THE COUNTRY REVERSE 30 YEARS OF LARGE-SCALE DRUG PRODUCTION AND INTERNAL STRIFE. THE GOC IS INCREASINGLY COMMITTED TO PLAN COLOMBIA, RAISING SECURITY SPENDING TO 3.8 PER CENT OF GDP IN 2003, WITH PLANS TO SPEND 5.8 PER CENT OF A HIGHER GDP BY 2006. THE COLOMBIAN MILITARY HAS HAD GROWING OPERATIONAL SUCCESS AGAINST NARCO-TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY, SECURING LARGE EXPANSES OF NATIONAL TERRITORY ONCE UNDER CONTROL OF NARCO-TERRORIST GROUPS. A STRENGTHENED STATE IS ALLOWING PRESIDENT URIBE TO IMPLEMENT A QUOTE ZERO TOLERANCE UNQUOTE POLICY TOWARD COCA CULTIVATION THAT HAS REDUCED THE FLOW OF FUNDS TO ILLEGAL ARMED GROUPS AND SHOWN THAT PLAN COLOMBIA'S ERADICATION, INTERDICTION, AND ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS CAN MEET OR SURPASS THE ORIGINAL PLAN COLOMBIA'S GOAL TO REDUCE COCA CULTIVATION BY 50 PER CENT BY 2005.

11. (SBU) PLAN COLOMBIA'S LONG-TERM INSTITUTION BUILDING ACTIVITIES HAVE HELPED COLOMBIA ESTABLISH SPECIAL HUMAN RIGHTS UNITS, REFORM THE CRIMINAL CODE, IMPROVE MONEY LAUNDERING AND ASSET FORFEITURE REGIMES AND PROTECT WITNESSES IN KEY CASES. ACCESS TO JUSTICE HAS IMPROVED DRAMATICALLY, MUNICIPAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS HAVE BENEFITED COMMUNITIES, AND COLOMBIA'S INTERNALLY DISPLACED POPULATION HAS RECEIVED ASSISTANCE AND ACTUALLY DECLINED BY 46 PER CENT IN 2003. ECONOMIC POLICIES STABILIZED THE ECONOMY, WHICH GREW BY 3.5 PER CENT IN 2003 AND INFLATION WAS REDUCED TO 6.5 PER CENT, LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR INCREASED GROWTH IN 2004 AND DOMESTIC INVESTMENT. THE IMPROVED SECURITY SITUATION IS LEADING FOREIGN INVESTORS TO TAKE A NEW LOOK AT COLOMBIA.

12. (SBU) PLAN COLOMBIA'S ACHIEVEMENTS TO DATE ARE IMPRESSIVE, BUT MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. COLOMBIA HAS NEARLY 35,000 MEMBERS OF ILLEGAL ARMED GROUPS, WITH BETWEEN 6,000 - 11,000 CHILD SOLDIERS. COLOMBIA LEADS THE WORLD IN KIDNAPPINGS, WITH A POVERTY RATE OF OVER 60 PER CENT, AND A NOTORIOUSLY WEAK JUSTICE SYSTEM. TO BE SUCCESSFUL, WE MUST HELP COLOMBIA ELIMINATE LARGE SCALE COCA PRODUCTION AND COCAINE TRAFFICKING. THE INFLUENCE OF ARMED GROUPS IN RURAL AREAS MUST BE ENDED DECISIVELY. THEREFORE, SUPPORT FOR PLAN COLOMBIA MUST CONTINUE.

13. (SBU) THE GOC PROGRAM FOR PHASE II CONSISTS OF FOUR PILLARS: 1. FIGHTING TERRORISM, NARCO-TRAFFICKING, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME; 2. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REACTIVATION; 3. INSTITUTIONAL AND JUSTICE SYSTEM STRENGTHENING; AND 4. PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, DEMOBILIZATION, AND REINCORPORATION.

14. (SBU) THE GOC ESTIMATES THAT PHASE II COSTS WILL TOTAL DOLS. 7.2 BILLION, OF WHICH DOLS. 4.15 BILLION, 58 PER CENT, CORRESPONDS TO GOC RESOURCES AND DOLS. 3.04 BILLION, 42 PER CENT, IS THE REQUEST LEVEL FOR USG SUPPORT. THE GOC PORTION ONLY INCLUDES OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT COUNTERPART RESOURCES, BUT DOES NOT INCLUDE LOCAL AND DEPARTMENTAL FUNDS NOR SUPPORT TO BE PROVIDED BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND CIVIL SOCIETY. THIS PHASE II PLAN IS DIRECTED TO THE USG, HOWEVER, THE GOC IS ACTIVELY COORDINATING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN SIX DONOR COMMITTEES AS PART OF ITS LONDON DECLARATION FOLLOW-UP.

15. (SBU) PILLAR ONE FOCUSES ON DEFEAT OF ILLEGAL NARCO-TERRORIST GROUPS BY COLOMBIAN POLICE AND MILITARY FORCES TO IMPROVE SECURITY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. DURING PHASE II, PLAN COLOMBIA WILL CONTINUE LOGISTICS SUPPORT, IMPROVED INTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS, AND TRAINING FOR POLICE AND MILITARY OPERATIONS AND WILL ALSO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR PROFESSIONALIZATION OF CIVILIAN AND MILITARY PERSONNEL IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS AND RULE OF LAW. PHASE TWO WILL ALSO CONTINUE SUPPORT FOR ERADICATION PROGRAMS CARRIED OUT BY THE NARCOTICS POLICE AND INCLUDE TRAINING/SUPPORT FOR THE JUDICIAL POLICE.

16. (SBU) PILLAR TWO, SOCIAL/ECONOMIC REACTIVATION, WILL EMPHASIZE JOB CREATION BY BUILDING TRADE CAPACITY AND REFORMING POLICIES AFFECTING TRADE AND INVESTMENT. LOCAL GOVERNANCE NETWORKS WILL ALSO BE DEVELOPED TO STRENGTHEN COMMUNITY COHESION AND STATE PRESENCE.

17. (SBU) PILLAR THREE WILL STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE AND THE RULE OF LAW - THE LINCHPIN OF SUCCESS IN ELIMINATING THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF COLOMBIA'S ILLICIT CROP PRODUCTION AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE. PHASE II WILL EXTEND THE RULE OF LAW, INCREASE SOCIETY'S CONFIDENCE IN JUDICIAL SYSTEMS AND CREATE A STABLE ATMOSPHERE FOR TRADE AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

18. (SBU) THE FOURTH PILLAR WILL SUPPORT A PEACE PROCESS TO ENCOMPASS ALL ILLEGAL ARMED GROUPS AND LEAD TO THE SUCCESSFUL DEMOBILIZATION OF EX-COMBATANTS AND THEIR REINCORPORATION INTO COLOMBIAN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LIFE.

19. (SBU) MAJOR CHANGES IN PHASE II WILL BE: A. INCREASED EMPHASIS ON CREATION OF NEW EMPLOYMENT AND REACTIVATION OF THE ECONOMY THROUGH TRADE CAPACITY BUILDING TO EXPAND EXPORTS UNDER THE ANDEAN TRADE PROMOTION AND DRUG ERADICATION ACT, A NEW BILATERAL FREE TRADE AGREEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS FOR WHICH TO BEGIN THIS SPRING, AND THE FTAA; B. INCREASED EMPHASIS ON PEACE NEGOTIATIONS THAT WILL ENCOMPASS ALL OF THE ILLEGAL ARMED GROUPS AND LEAD TO THE DEMOBILIZATION AND REINCORPORATION OF THE EX-COMBATANTS; AND C. A SHIFT TOWARD GREATER COLOMBIANIZATION OF THE DRUG ERADICATION EFFORT AND ADJUSTMENTS IN THE ERADICATION STRATEGY TO REFLECT THE SUCCESS OF AERIAL FUMIGATION AND CHANGING TACTICS OF NARCO-TRAFFICKERS TO CULTIVATE IN NATIONAL PARKS AND INTERSPERSE WITH OTHER CROPS.

20. (SBU) IN THE EMBASSY'S VIEW, THE MONEY SPENT IN SUPPORT OF PLAN COLOMBIA HAS BEEN WELL SPENT. THE GOC UNDER BOTH PRESIDENT PASTRANA AND URIBE HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE AND ACCOUNTABLE. AS SENATE MAJORITY LEADER FRIST SAID TO A GROUP OF COLOMBIAN PRIVATE SECTOR LEADERS, "THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS GOTTEN ONE HUNDRED CENTS FOR ITS DOLLAR."

WOOD